John Carter Brown.

4316 This Copy appears to have the Printers Address & the Crap.

by Capt. John Smith

Church 333, (2)

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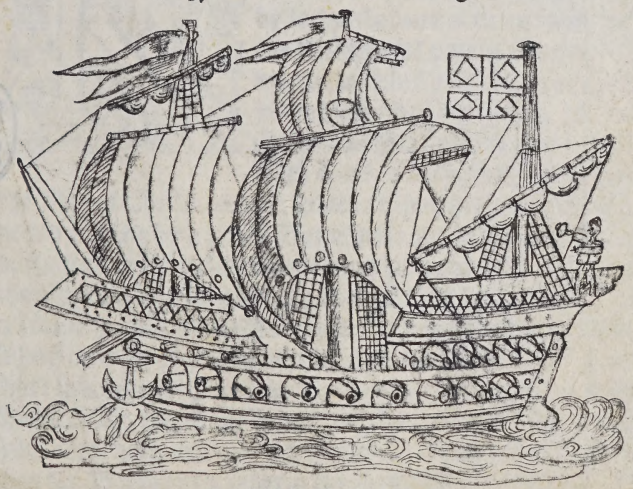
L.C.W.

33

A TRVE RE lation of ſuch occur-

rences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia ſince the firſt planting of that Collony, which is now reſident in the South part thereof till the laſt returne from thence.

Written by Th. Watſon *Gent. one of the ſaid Collony, to a worſhipfull* friend of his in England.



LONDON

Printed for *John Tappe*, and are to bee ſolde at the Grey-hound in Paules-Church yard, by *W.W.*

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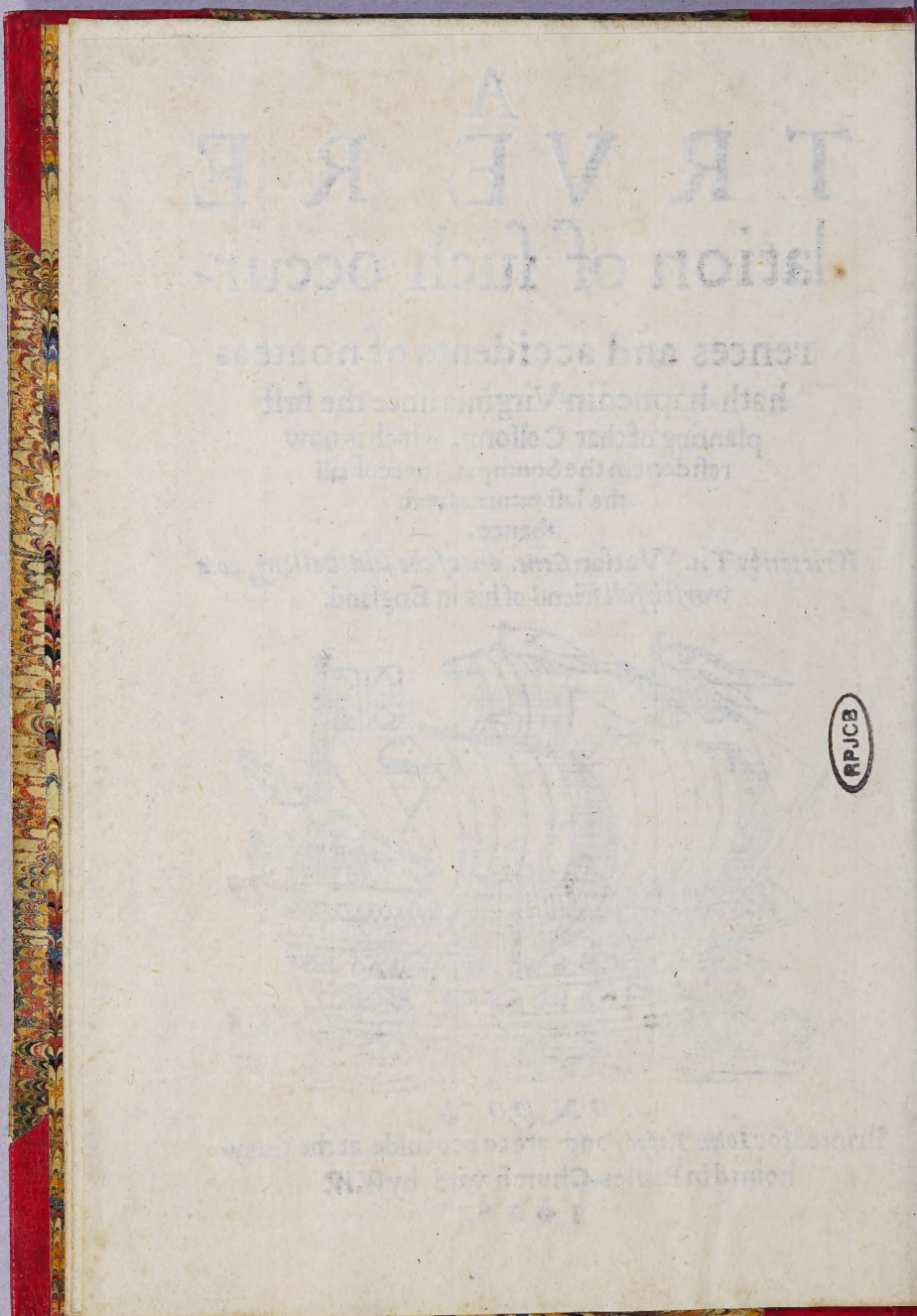
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508

JOHN CARTER BROWN

A True relation of such occurrences and accidents of note, as hath hapned in *Virginia*, since the first planting of that Collony, *which is now resident in the South part* thereof, till the last returne.

KInde Sir, commendations remembred, &c. You shall understand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests wee arrived safely vpon the South west part of the great Canaries: within foure or five daies after we set saile for Dominica, the 26. of Aprill: the first land we made, wee fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the Bay of Chisiapiacke, which at that present we little expected, having by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward: anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in comming aboard, they were assalted with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: wherupon, Captaine Newport seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but having spent their arrowes retyred without harme, and in that place was the Box opened, wherin the Counsell for Virginia was nominated: and arriving at the place where wee are now seated, the Counsel was sworn, & the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister Edw. Maria Wingfield, where was

made choice for our seituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our prouision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

The two and twenty day of Aprill, Captain Newport and my selfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discouer the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, & in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plains high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindely intreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with strawberries, Mulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions whereof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindely requited their leaste fauours with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades or Glasses, which so contented them, that his liberalitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindely to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile foure or fiue sauages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs, trading with vs for such prouision as wee had, and arriuing at Arsatecke, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindely entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs vp the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindely. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an ile we were intercepted with great craggy stones ỹ in midst of the riuer, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the streame, as there is not past fiue or sixe Foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The south side is plaine low ground, and the north side high mountaines,

mountaines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glittring spangles. That night we returned to Powhatan: the nert day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to Arsetecke, and stayed there the nert day to obserue the height therof & so with many signes of loue we departed. The nert day the Queene of Agamatack kindely intreated vs, her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place, (the name whereof I doe not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their diuing for Mussels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by Weanock some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of Weanocke, the people the nert morning seemed kindely to content vs, yet we might perceiue many signes of a more Iealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of Arseteck had giuen vs, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischiefe at the Fort, yet Capt. Newport intended to haue visited Paspahegh and Tappahanocke, but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return, we repaired to the fort with all speed, where the first we heard was that 400. Indians the day before had assalted the fort, & supprised it, had not God (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the shippes at whom they shot with their Ordinances & Muskets, caused them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes beeing then in diuers fats & few ready but certain Gentlemē of their own, in which

conflict

conflict, most of the Counsel was hurt: a boy slaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt. Withall speede we palisadoed our Fort: (each other day) for five or seauen daies we had alarums by ambuscadoes, and foure or five cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians losse wee know not, but as they report three were slain and diuers hurt.

Captaine Newport hauing set things in order, set saile for England the 22 of June, leauing prouision for 13. or 14 weeks. The day before the Ships departure the king of Paimaunke sent the Indian that had met vs before in our discouerie, to assure vs peace, our fort being then palisadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that through some discontented humors, it did not so long continue, for the President and Captaine Gosnold, with the rest of the Counsell, being for the most part discontented with one another in so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines effected in such good sort as wisdome would, nor our owne good, and safetie required, whereby, and through the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell breeding diuersly affected through his audacious commaund, and for Captaine Martin, (albeit verie honest) and wishing the best good, yet so sicke and weake, and my selfe so disgrac'd through others mallice, through which disorder God (being angrie with vs) plagued vs with such famin and sickines, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead: our want of sufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching, foure or five each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cause: onely of Sturgion wee had great store, whereon our men would so greedily surfet, as it cost manye their liues: the Sack, Aquauitie, and other preseruatiues for our health, being kept onely in the Presidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few associates: shortly after Captaine Gosnold fell sicke, and within three weekes died, Captaine Ratcliffe being then also verie sicke and weake, and my selfe hauing also tasted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistãce being well recouered. Kendall about this time, for diuers

reasons

reasons deposed from being of the Councell: and shortly after it pleased God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to bring vs Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh vs, when we rather expected when they would destroy vs: about the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead, at which time Captaine Wingefield hauing ordred the affaires in such sort, that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidencie, and Captaine Ratcliffe according to his course was elected.

Our prouision being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought vs great store both of Corne and bread ready made: and also there came such aboundance of Fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, whereuppon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad. As yet we had no houses to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse then nought: our best commoditie was Pitch which we made into little chissels, the president, and Captaine Martins sicknes, constrayned me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no paines in making houses for the company, who notwithstanding our misery, little eased their malice, grudging and muttering. As at this time were most of our chiefest men either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starue and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do any thing for their owne releife without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of ỹ riuer, to Kegquouhtan an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the riuer for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with careless kindnes, offred vs little pieces of bread, & small handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In the like maner I entertained their kindnes, and in like scorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindenes, I liberally contented with free gifte, such trifles as wel cõtented them finding this colde

comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the nert day returned to trade, but God (the absolute disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities then we of their Corne: vnder colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discouer the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they desired me vp to their houses: which well vnderstanding, with foure shot I visited them, with fish, oysters, bread and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs, for well I might with twentie men haue fraighted a Shippe with Corne: The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated vpon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Way of the great Riuer, the other parte with a Baye of the other Riuer falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of fiftie yardes. With fifteene bushells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountred with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboord me, being the inhabitants of waroskoyack, a kingdome on the south side of the riuer, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: with these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne, & with neare thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name whereof gaue great comfort to our despairing company: time thus passing away, & hauing not aboue 14. dates vituals left, some motiõs were made about our presidents & Capt. Archers going for England, to procure a supply, in which meane time we had reasonablly fitted vs with houses, and our President & Capt. Martin being able to walk abroad, with much ado it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should goe towards Powhatan, to trade for corne: Lotts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine, & while she was a rigging, I made a voiage to Topohanack, where arriuing, there was but certain women & children who fled from their houses, yet at last I drew them to draw neere, truck they durst

durſt not, corne they had plenty, & to ſpoile I had no cõmiſſion: In my returne to Paſpahegh, I traded with that churliſh & trecherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 buſhels of corne, they offred to take our pieces and ſwords, yet by ſtelth, but ſeeming to diſlike it, they were ready to aſſault vs, yet kãding vpon our guard in coaſting the ſhore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corn & trade, but leaſt we ſhould be conſtrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly fal to reuenge, ſeeing them dog vs, from place to place, it being night, & our neceſſitie not fit for warres, we tooke occaſion to returne with 10 buſhells of corne: Cap. Martin after made 2 iournies to that nation of Paſpahegh but eache time returned with 8. or 10. buſhells. All things being now ready for my iourney to Powhatan, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my ſelfe for the barge, as well for diſcouerie, as trading, the Pinnace, 5. Marriners, & 2. landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places. The 9 of November I ſet forward for the diſcouery of the country of Chikhamania, leauing the pinnace the next tide to followe and ſtay for my comming at Poinweanock, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuer falleth into the great riuer at Paſpahegh, 8 miles aboue our fort: that afternoone I ſtayed the eb, in the bay of Paſpahegh with the Indiãs: towards the euening certaine Indians haled me, one of them being of Chikahamania, offred to cõduct me to his country, the Paſpabegheans grudged therat: along we went by moonelight, at midnight he brought vs before his Towne, deſiring one of our men to go vp with him, whom he kindely intertained, and returned back to the barge: the next morning I went vp to the towne, and ſhewed them what copper and hatchets they ſhold haue for corne, each family ſeeking to giue me moſt content: ſo long they cauſed me to ſtay ẏ 100 at leaſt was expecting my comming by the riuer with corne, what I liked I bought, and leaſt they ſhould perceiue my too great want I went higher vp the riuer: this place is called Manoſquoſick a quarter of a mile from the riuer, conteining thirtie or fortie houſes, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the riuer, is a plaine wood, watered with many ſpringes, which fall twentie yardes right dow-

into the riuer: right against ỹ same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ilands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fish & foule of all sorts: a mile from thence is a Towne called Oraniocke, I further discouered the Townes of Mansa, Apahaock, Werawahone, & Mamanahūt at eche place kindely vsed, especially at the last, being the hart of the Country, where were assembled 200. people with such aboū-dāce of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship: I returned to Paspahhegh, & considering ỹ want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with ỹ ebb, by midnight I arriued at our fort, where I found our Pinnis run aground: the next morning I vnladed seauē hogsheds into our store, the next morning I returned againe: the second day I arriued at Mamanahūt, wher ỹ people hauing heard of my cōming, were ready with 3 or 400. baskets litle & great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindnes I returned: at my departure they requested me to hear our pieces, being in the midst of the riuer, which in regard of ỹ eccho seemed a peale of ordnance, many birds and fowles they see vs dayly kil that much feared them, so desirous of trade wer they, ỹ they would follow me with their canowes, & for any thing giue it me, rather then returne it back: so I vnladed again 7 or 8. hogsheads at our fort. Hauing thus by Gods assistance gotten good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirrits not content with Gods prouidence, still grew mutinous, in so much, that our president hauing ocasion to chide the smith for his misdemenor, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offred to strike him with some of his tooles, for which rebellious act, the smith was by a Jury condemned to be hanged, but being vppon the ladder continuing verry obstinate, as hoping vpon a rescue: when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, & declared a dangerous conspiracy, for which Captaine Kendall as principal, was by a Jury condēned & shot to death. This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discouery of the Riuer of Checka Hamania: this third time I discouered ỹ Townes of Matapamient, Morinogh, Ascacap, moysenock Righkahauck, Nechanichock, Mattalūt, Attamuspincke, & diuers others, their plenty of corne I found decreased, yet lading

ding the barge, I returned to our fort: our store being now indifferently wel prouided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captain Martin & my selfe, standing chiefly against it, and in fine after many debatings, pro & contra, it was reolued to stay a further resolutiõ: this matter also quieted, I set forward to finish this discouery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of ỹ necessitie we had to take in prouision whilst it was to be had: 40. miles I passed vp ỹ riuer, which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, & 3. fatham & a half deep, exceeding oley, many great low marshes, & many high lãds, especially about ỹ midst at a place called Moysonicke, a Peninsule of 4. miles circuit, betwixt two riuers ioyned to the main, by a neck of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke: on both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh, more plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and mallards, & diuers sorts of fowles none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there I had not seene, of a light blacke sandy mould, the cliffes commonly red, white and yellowe coloured sand, & vnder red & white clay, fish great plenty, & people aboundance, the most of their inhabitants, in view of ỹ neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired: at the end of forty miles this riuer inuironeth many low Ilands, at each high water drowned for a mile, where it vniteth it selfe, at a place called Apokant the highest Towns inhabited. 10. miles higher I discouered with the barge in the mid way, a great tree hindred my passage which I cut in two: heere the riuer became narrower, 8. 9 or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift, & the bottom hard channell, the ground most part a low plaine, sandy soyle, this occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge, yet to haue beene able to resolue this doubt, & to discharge the imputation of malicious tunges, that haue suspected I durst not for so long delaying, some of the company as desirous as my selfe, we resolued to

now, and returne with the barge to Apocant, there to leaue the barge secure, and put our selues vppon the aduenture: the country onely a vast and wilde wildernes, and but onely that Towne: within three or foure mile we hired a Canow, and 2. Indians to row vs ẏ next day a fowling: hauing made such prouision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there to ride, with expresse charge not any to go ashore til my returne. Though some wise men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they well cõsider the friendship of the Indians, in conducting me, the desolatsnes of the country, the prpabilitie of some lacke, & the malicious iudges of my actions at home, as also to haue some matters of worth to incourage our aduenturers in england, might well haue caused any honest minde to haue done the like, as wel for his own discharge as for the publike good. hauing 2 Indians for my guide & 2 of our own company, I set forward, leauing 7 in the barge: hauing discouered 20 miles further in this desart, the riuer still kept his depth and breadth, but much more combred with trees: here we went ashore (being some 12 miles higher then ẏ barge had bene) to refresh our selues, during the boyling of our victuals: one of the Indians I toke with me, to see the nature of the soile, & to crosse the boughts of the riuer, the other Indian I left with M. Robbinson and Thomas Emry, with their matches light and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat at the first sight of any Indian, but within a quarter of an houre I heard a loud cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece, supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had betraid vs, presently I seazed him & bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was done, but as we went discoursing, I was stroke with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion I espied 2 Indians drawing their bowes, which I preuented in discharging a french pistoll: by that I had charged againe 3. or 4 more did the like, for the first fell downe and fled: at my discharge they did the like, my minde I made my barricado who offered not to strike, 20. or 30. arrowes were shot at me or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the

king

king of Pamaũck called, Opeckãkenough with 200 men, unarmed one, each drawing their bowe, which done they laid them vpon the ground, yet without shot, my hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace, he discovered me to be the Captaine, my request was to retire to ỹ boate, they demaunded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, onely me they would reserue: the Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I slept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth: thus surprised, I resolued to trie their mercies, my armes I caste from me, till which none durst approach me: being seazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King, I presented him with a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes the vse therof, whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres and plannets, with kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and Iohn Robbinson slaine, with 20 or 30. arrowes in him. Emry I saw not, I perceiued by the abundance of fires all ouer the woods, at each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they vsed me with what kindnes they could: approaching their Towne, which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occasion requires: all the women and children, being aduertised of this accident, came forth to meet them, the King well guarded with 20 bowmen 5 flancks and rear, and each flanck before him a sword & a peece, and after him the like, then a bowman, then I on each hand a bowman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led forth amongst the trees in a bission, eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiuer at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a sargeant, the one running alwaies towarde the front the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order, this being a good time continued, they caste themselues in a ring with a daunce, and so eache man departed to

his

his lodging, the Captain conducing me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper, what I left was reserued for me, and sent with me to my lodging: each morning 3. women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could deuour I had, my gowne, points and garters, my compas and a tablet they gaue me again, though S ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could deuise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection: much they threatned to assault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of Paspahegh, who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance: the King tooke great delight in vnderstanding the manner of our ships, and sayling the seas, the earth & skies and of our God: what he knew of the dominicus he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me, the course of our riuer, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles, was a great turning of salt water: I desired he would send a messenger to Paspahegh, with a letter I would write, by which they should vnderstand, how kindly they vsed me, and that I was well, least they should reuenge my death: this he granted and sent three men, in such weather, as in reason were vnpossible, by any naked to be indured: their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deuerted, in describing the ordinance & the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Captain Newport would take of them at his returne, their intent, I incerted the fort, the people of Ocanahonum and the back sea, this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: the next day after my letter, came a saluage to my lodging, with his sword to haue slaine me, but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to haue effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King vnderstanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he tould me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: this was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to preuent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome,

vpon

vpon the top of the next northerly riuer, called Youghtanan, hauing feasted me, he further led me to another branch of the riuer, called Mattapament, to two other hunting townes they led me, and to each of these Countries, a house of the great Emperour of Pewhakan, whom as yet I supposed to bee at the Fals, to him I tolde him I must goe, and so returne to Paspahegh, after this foure or fiue dayes march, we returned to Rasawrack, the first towne they brought me to, where binding the Mats in bundels, they marched two dayes iourney, and crossed the Riuer of Youghtanan, where it was as broad as Thames: so conducting me to a place called Menapacute in Pamaunke, where ye King inhabited: the next day another King of that nation called Kekataugh, hauing receiued some kindnes of me at the Fort, kindly inuited me to feast at his house, the people from all places flocked to see me, each shewing to content me. By this the great King hath foure or fiue houses, each containing foure score or an hundred foote in length, pleasantly seated vpon an high sandy hill, from whence you may see westerly a goodly low Country, the riuer before the which his crooked course causeth many great Marshes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houses, and many large plaines are here together inhabited, more abundance of fish, fowle, and a pleasanter seat cannot be imagined: the King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to discharge my Pistoll, which they there presented me with a mark at six score to strike therwith but to spoil the practise I broke the cocke, whereat they were much discontented though a chaunce supposed.

From hence this kind King conducted mee to a place called Topahanocke, a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward: the cause of this was, that the yeare before, a shippe had beene in the Riuer of Pamaunke, who hauing beene kindly entertained by Powhatan their Emperour, they returned thence, and discouered the Riuer of Topahanocke, where being receiued with like kindnesse, yet he slue the King, and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee, but the people reported him a great man that was Captaine, and vsing me kindly, the

next day we departed.

This Riuer of Topahanock, seemeth in breadth not much lesse then that we dwell vpon. At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called Cuttata women vpwards is Marraugh tacum Tapohanock, Appamatuck, and Nantaugs tacum, at Topmanahocks, the head issuing from many Mountaines, the next night I lodged at a hunting town of Powhatams, and the next day arriued at Waranacomoco vpon the riuer of Pamauncke, where the great king is resident: by the way we passed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two called Payankatank. The most of this Countrey though Desert, yet exceeding fertil, good timber, most hils and dales, in each valley a cristall spring.

Arriuing at Weramocomoco, their Emperour proudly lying vppon a Bedstead a foote high vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and couered with a great Couering of Rahaughcums: At his heade sat a woman, at his feete another, on each side sitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaine of white Beades ouer their shoulders: their heades painted in redde and with such a graue and Maiesticall countenance, as drawe me into admiration to see such state in a naked Salvage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure dayes, hee much delighted in Opechan Comoughs relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me vpon the same. Hee asked mee the cause of our comming, I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, being ouer powred, neare put to retreat, and by extreame weather put to this shore, where landing at Chesipiack, the people shot vs, but at Kequoughtan they kindly vsed vs, we by signes demaunded fresh water, they described vs vp the Riuer was all fresh water, at Paspahegh, also they kindly vsed vs, our Pinnesse being leake wee were inforced to

stay

stay to mend her, till Captaine Newport my father came to conduct vs away. He demaunded why we went further with our Boate, I tolde him, in that I would haue occasion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other side the maine, where was salt water, my father had a childe slaine, whiche wee supposed Monocan his enemie had done whose death we intended to reuenge.

After good deliberation, hee began to describe mee the Countreys beyonde the Falles, with many of the rest, confirming what not onely Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had beene prisoner to Pewhatan had before tolde mee, but some called it fiue dayes, some sixe, some eight, where the sayde water dashed amongest many stones and rockes, each storme which caused oft tymes the heade of the River to bee brackish: Anchanachuck he described to bee the people that had slaine my brother, whose death hee would reuenge. Hee described also vpon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer, and Pataromerke, Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories, where the peare before they had slaine an hundred, he signified their crownes were shauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them he described people with short Coates, and Sleeues to the Elbowes, that passed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee described mee to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie River, issuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas, the people cloathed at Ocamahowan. He also confirmed, and the Southerly Countries also, as the rest, that reported vs to be within a day & a halfe of Mangoge, two dayes of Chawwonock, 6. frō Roonock, to the south part of the backe sea: he described a countrie called Anone, where they haue abundance of Brasse, and houses walled as ours. I requited his discourse, seeing what pride hee had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all hee knewe were vnder his Territories.

In describing to him the territories of Europe, which was subiect to our great King, whose subiect I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gaue him to vnderstand the noyse of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting were vnder captain Newport my father, whom I intituled the Meworames which they call King of all the waters, at his greatnesse hee admired, and not a little feared: hee desired mee to forsake Paspaliegh, and to liue with him vpon his Riuer, a Countrie called Capa Howasicke: hee promised to giue me Corne, Venison, or what I wanted to feede vs, Hatchets and Copper wee should make him, and none should disturbe vs. This request I promised to performe: and thus hauing with all the kindnes hee could deuise, sought to content me: hee sent me home with 4. men, one that vsually carried my Gowne and Knapsacke after me, two other loded with bread, and one to accompanie me.

This Riuer of Pamaunke is not past twelue mile from that we dwell on, his course northwest, and westerly, as the other. Weraocomoco, is vpon salt water, in breath two myles, and so keepeth his course without any tarrying some twenty miles, where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it diuideth it selfe into two partes, the one part to Goughland, as broad as Thames, and nauigable, with a Boate threescore or fourescore miles, and with a Shippe fiftie, exceeding crooked, and manie low grounds and marishes, but inhabited with abundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of Youghtomam, of no lesse worth, onely it is lower, but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Aboue Manapacumter, many high sandie Mountaines. By the Riuer is many Rockes, seeming if not of seuerall Mines: The other branch a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not neare so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sande, and a white clay soyle: here is their best Terra Sigillata: The mouth of the Riuer, as I see in the discouerie therof with captain Newport, is halfe a mile broad, & within foure miles not aboue a Musket shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the Riuer straight to the diuisions. Kiskirk the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their

Their religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: three or foure dayes after my taking seuen of them in the house where I lay, each with a rattle began at ten a clocke in the morning to sing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale, and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each song, layde downe two or three graines of wheate, continuing this order till they haue included fiue or seuen hundred in a halfe Circle, and after that two or three more Circles in like maner, a hand breadth from other: that done, at each song, they put betwixt euerie three, two or fiue graines, a little sticke, so counting as an old woman her Pater noster.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnes of Weasels, and other vermine, with a Crownet of feathers on his head, painted as vgly as the diuell, at the end of each song will make many signes and demonstrations, with strange and vehement actions, great cakes of Deere suet, Deare, and Tobacco he casteth in the fire, till fiue a clocke in the Euening, their howling would continue ere they would depart. Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall to the number of twentie or thirtie, assembled themselues in a round circle, a good distance from the towne, where they told me they there consulted where to hunt the next day: so fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the Quiyoughquosicke, which is a superiour power they worship, a more vglier thing cannot be described: one they haue for chiefe sacrifices, which also they call Quiyoughquosick: to cure the sick, a man with a Rattle, and extreame howling, showting, singing, and such violent gestures, and Anticke actions ouer the patient will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient out of their vnable stomacke, or any diseased place, as no labour will more tire them, Tobacco they offer the water in passing in stowle weather. The death of any they lament with great sorrow and weeping: their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within their houses, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets, and copper: the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no resurrection. Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his bre-

theren succéded other.

For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successively the weomens heires: For the Kings have as many weomen as they will, his Subiects two, and most but one.

From Weramocomoco is but 12. miles, yet the Indians trifled away that day, and would not goe to our Forte by any perswasions: but in certaine olde hunting houses of Paspahegh we lodged all night. The next morning ere Sunne rise, we set forward for our Fort, where we arrived within an houre, where each man with the truest signes of ioy they could expresse welcommed mée, except M. Archer, and some 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my absence, sworne Counsellour, though not with the consent of Captaine Martin: great blame and imputation was laide upon mée by them, for the losse of our two men which the Indians slew: insomuch that they purposed to depose me, but in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Captaine Nuport, who arriving there the same night, so tripled our ioy, as for a while these plots against me were deferred, though with much malice against me, which captain Newport in short time did plainly sée. Now was maister Scrivener, captaine Martin, and my selfe, called Counsellers.

Within five or sixe dayes after the arriuall of the Ship, by a mischaunce our Fort was burned, and the most of our apparell, lodging and private provision, many of our old men diseased, and of our new for want of lodging perished. The Emperour Powhatan each weeke once or twice sent me many presents of Deare, bread Raugroughcuns, halfe alwayes for my father, whom he much desired to sée, and halfe for me: and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had given me, as at last Captaine Newport resolued to go sée him. Such acquaintance I had amongst the Indians, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them, euery of them calling me by my name, would not sell any thing till I had first receiued their presents, and what they

they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they vsually came into the Fort at their pleasure: The President, and the rest of the Councell, they knewe not, but Captaine Newports greatnesse I had so described, as they conceyued him the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and seruants. We had agreed with ỹ king of Paspahegh, to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke beyond Roonok, where he reported many men to be apparelled. We landed him at Warraskoyack, where playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after without going further. Captaine Newport, maister Scrivener, and my selfe, found the mouth of Pamaunckes riuer, some 25. or 30. miles northward from Cape Henrie, the chanell good as before expressed.

Arriuing at Weramocomoca, being iealous of the intent of this politick saluage, to discouer his intent the better, I with 20. shot armed in Jacks went a shore, the Bay where he dwelleth hath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a haife from the chanel all of, being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the creeke, for they al there were within lesse then a mile, the Emperors sonne called Naukaquawis, the captaine that tooke me, and diuerse others of his chiefe men conducted me to their kings habitation, but in the mid way I was intercepted by a great creek ouer which they had made a bridge of grained stakes & railes, the king of Kiskieck, and Namontack, who all the iourney the king had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischiefe: the barge I had sent to meet me at the right landing, when I found my selfe first deceyued, and knowing by experience the most of their courages to proceede from others feare, though fewe lyked the passage, I intermingled the kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forward, leauing haife at the one ende to make a guard for the passage of the Front. The Indians seeing the weakenesse of the Bridge, came with a Canow, and tooke one in of the middest with foure or fiue more, being landed wee made a guard for the rest till all were passed, two in a ranke

a ranke we marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood fortie or fiftie great Platters of fine bread, being entred the house, with loude tunes they all made signes of great ioy. This proude salvage, hauing his fineſt women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, sate in rankes as before is expressed, himselfe as vpon a Throne at the vpper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet haue often seene, either in Pagan or Christian, with a kinde countenance hee bad mee welcome, and caused a place to bee made by himselfe to sit, I presented him a suite of red cloath, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte, as Iewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oration made by three of his Nobles, if there be any amongſt Salvages, kindly accepted them, with a publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship.

After that, he commaunded the Quéene of Apamatuc, a comely yong Salvage, to giue me water, a Turkie-cocke, and breade to eate: being thus feasted, hee began his discourse to this purpose. Your kinde visitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is he not with you. I told him he remained aboord, but the next day he would come vnto him, with a merrie coũtenance he asked me for certaine peeces I which promised him, when I went to Paspahegh, I told according to my promise, that I proffered the man that went with me foure Demy Culuerings, in that he so desired a great Gunne, but they refused to take them, whereat with a lowde laughter, he desired to giue him some of lesse burthen, as for the other I gaue him them, being sure that none could carrie them: but where are these men you promised to come with you, I told him without, who then vpon gaue order to haue them brought in, two after two, euer maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselues euer with thankes, he would salute me, and caused each of them to haue foure or fiue pound of bread giuen them. This done, I asked him for the corne and ground he promised me. He told me I should haue it, but he expected to haue all these men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subiects. I tolde him that was a ceremonie our ene-

mies

mies desired, but never our Friends, as we presented our selues vnto him, yet that he should not doubt of our friendship: the next day my Father would giue him a child of his, in full assurance of our loues, and not only that, but when he should thinke it conuenient, wee would deliuer vnder his subiection the Country of Manacam and Pocoughtaonack his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediatly with attentiue silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me Awerowanes of Powhaton, and that all his subiects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Paspagheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people: this proffered kindnes for many reasons we contemned not, but with the best Languages and signes of thankes I could expresse, I take my leaue.

The King rising from his seat, conducted me forth, and caused each of my men to haue as much more bread as hee could beare: giuing me some in a basket, & as much he sent a board for a present to my Father: victuals you must know is all there wealth, and the greatest kindnes they could shew vs: arriuing at the River, the Barge was fallen so low with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft sent to preuent the same, yet the messengers deceiued mee, the Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King vnderstanding this mischance, sent his Sonne and Mamontacke, to conduct mee to a great house sufficient to lodge mee, where entring I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vsed all diligence to make vs fires, & giue vs content: the kings Orators presently entertained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take our bowes or arrowes, or offer any iniury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venizon to stay my stomacke: in the euening hee sent for mee to come onely

with two that with me: the company I gaue order to stand vpon their guard, & to maintaine two sentries at the ports all night. To my supper he set before me meate for twenty men, & seeing I could not eate, hee caused it to be giuen to my men: for this is a generall custome, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you must either eate it, giue it away, or carry it with you: two or three houres we spent in our ancient discourses, which done, I was with a fire stick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting mee to the River, shewed me his Canowes, and described vnto me how hee sent them ouer the Baye, for tribute Beades: and also what Countries paide him Beads, Copper or Skins. But seeing Captaine Nuport, and Maister Scriuener, comming a shore, the King returned to his house, and I went to meete him, with a trumpet before him, wee marched to the King: who after his old manner kindly receiued him, especially a Boy of thirteen yeares old, called Thomas Saluage, whom he gaue him as his Sonne: he requited this kindnes with each of vs a great basket of Beanes, and entertaining him with the former discourse, we passed away that day, and agreed to bargaine the next day, and so returned to our Pinnis: the next day comming a shore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfast, questioned with vs in this manner.

Why we came armed in that sort, seeing hee was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes, what did wee doubt? I told him it was the custome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies, wherewith though hee seemed satisfied, yet Captaine Nuport caused all our men to retire to the water side, which was some thirtie score from thence: but to preuent the worst, Maister Scriuener or I were either the one or other by the Barge, experience had well taught me to beleeue his friendship, till conuenient opportunity suffred him to betray vs, but quickly this politi-

tian

tian had perceiued my absence, and cunningly sent for mée; I sent for Maister Scriuener to supply my place, the King would demaund for him, I would againe releeue him, and they sought to satisfie our seipition with kind Language, and not being agréed to trade for corne, hée desired to sée all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would giue vs corne, with that ancient tricke the Chickahamanians had oft acquainted me: his offer I refused, offering first to sée what hée would giue for one piece, hée séeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell, but we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite vs.

Captaine Nuport would not with lesse then twelue great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at Chickahamania, I had for one of lesse proportion: our Hatchets hée would also haue at his owne rate, for which kindnes hée much séemed to affect Captaine Nuport, some few bunches of blew Beades I had, which he much desired, and séing so few, he offred me a basket of two pecks, and that which I drew to be three pecks at the least, and yet séemed contented and desired more: I agréed with him the next day for two bushells, for ỹ ebbe now constrained vs to returne to our Boate, although he earnestly desired vs to stay dinner which was a prouiding, and being ready he sent aboard after vs, which was bread and venison, sufficient for fiftie or sixtie persons.

The next day hée sent his Sonne in the morning not to bring a shore with vs any pieces, least his women and children should feare. Captaine Nuports good beliefe would haue satisfied that request, yet twentie or twentie fiue shot we got a shore: the King importuning mé to leaue my armes a board, much misliking my sword, pistol and target, I told him the men that slew my Brother with the like fearmes had perswaded me, and being vnarmed shot at vs, and so betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine Nuport that his men might

leaue their armes, which still hee commanded to the water side, this day we spent in trading for blew Beads, and hauing neare straighted our Barge.

Captaine Nuport returned with them that came aboard, leauing me and Maister Scriuener ashore, to follow in Canowes; into one I got with fiue of our men, which being launched a stones cast from the shore stuck fast in the Mie: Maister Scriuener seeing this example, with seuen or eight more passed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other creeke, but they were inforced to stay with such entertainment as a saluage, being forced ashore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his house and houshold, instantly set vp a house of mats which succoured them from the storme.

The Indians seeing me pestred in the Mie, called to me, fiue or seuen of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in Mie, came to bear me out on their heads, their importunacie caused me better to like the Canow then their curtesie, excusing my denial for feare to fall into the Mie, desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats, to couer me, and I would content them: each presently gaue his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce haue indured, yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperors sent his Seaman Mantiuas in the euening with bread and victuall for me and my men, he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how litle he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogge would scarce haue indured it, this kindnes I found, when I litle expected lesse then a mischiefe, but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood serued to carry vs aboard: the next day we came ashore, the King with a solemne discourse causing all to depart, but his principall men, and this was the effect, when as hee perceiued that we had a desire to inuade Monacum, a-

gainst

gainst whom he was no professed enemy, yet thus farre hee would assist vs in this enterprise: First hee would send his spies, perfectly to vnderstand their strength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himselfe.

Captaine Nuport would not be seene in it himselfe, being great Werowances, they would stay at home, but I, Maister Scriuener, and two of his Sonnes, and Opechankanough. The King of Pamaunke should haue 100. of his men to goe before as though they were hunting, they giuing vs notise where was the aduantage we should kill them, the weomen and young children he wished we should spare, & bring them to him, only 100. or 150. of our men he held sufficient for this exploit: our boats should stay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might conuey each man a piece till we were past the stones, and there ioyne them, to passe our men by water, if any were shot, his men should bring them backe to our boats, this faire tale had almost made Captaine Nuport vndertake, by this meanes to discouer the South sea, which will not be without trecherie, if wee ground our intent vpon his constancie.

This day we spent in trading, dancing, and much mirth, the King of Pamaunke sent his messenger, as yet not knowing Captaine Nuport, to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, desiring also my Father to visite him: the messenger stayed to conduct vs, but Powhatan vnderstanding that we had Hatchets lately come from Paspahegh, desired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further.

This new tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what hee lifted, and to try whether we would go or stay. Opechankenoughs messenger returned that wee would not come: the next day his Daughter came to entreat me, shewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much sorrowed he could not see me.

Captaine Nuport being not to bee perswaded to goe in, that Powhatan had desired vs to stay: sent her away with the like answer, yet the next day vpon better consideration intreatie prevailed, and wee anchored at Cinquoteck, the first twaine aboue the parting of the riuer, where dwelled two Kings of Pamaunke, Brothers to Powhatan: the one called Opitchapam, the other Kataiough, to these I went a shore, who kindly intreated mee and Maister Scriuener, sending some presents aboard to Captaine Nuport, whilst we were trucking with these Kings.

Opechankanough his wife, women, and children came to meete me with a naturall kind affection, shee seemed to reioyce to see me.

Captaine Nuport came a shore, with many kind discourses wee passed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine Nuport went about with the Pinnis to Menapacant which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land: Opechankanough, conducted me and Maister Scriuener by land, where hauing built a feasting house a purpose to entertaine vs with a kind Oration, after their manner and his best provision, kindly welcomed vs, that day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight vs with content: Captaine Nuport arrived towards euening, whom the King presented with fiue great platters of fine bread, and Pansarowmana, the next day till none wee traded: the King feasted all the company, and the afternoone was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight, by no meanes hee would haue vs depart till the next day, he had feasted vs with venison, for which he had sent, hauing spent his first and second provision in expecting our comming: the next day he performed his promise, giuing more to vs then, then would haue sufficed 30, and in that we carried not away what we left, hee sent it after vs to the Pinnis, with what words or signes of loue he could expresse, we departed.

Captaine Nuport in the Pinnis, leaning mee in the Barge

Barge to digge a rocke, where wee supposed a Mine at Cinquaoteck, which done, ere midnight I arrived at Weracomoco, where our Pinnis anchored, being 20. miles from Cinquaotecke, the next day we tooke leave of Powhatan, who in regard of his kindnes gaue him an Indian, he well affected to goe with him for England in stead of his Sonne, ỳ cause I afore me was to know our strength and Countries condition: ỳ next day we arrived at Kiskiack, the people so scornefully entertained vs, as with what signes of scorne and discontent we could, we departed and returned to our Fort with 250. bushells of Corne, our President being not wholy recouered of his sicknes, in discharging, his Piece brake and split his hand off, which he is not yet well recouered.

At Captaine Nuports arriuall, wee were victualled for twelue weekes, and hauing furnished him of what hee thought good, hee set saile for England the tenth of Aprill: Master Scriuener and my selfe with our shallop, accompanied him to Captaine Hendrick.

Powhatan hauing for a farrewell, sent him fiue or sixe mens loadings, with Turkeyes for swords, which hee sent him in our return to ỳ fort: we discouered the river of Nausamd, a proud warlike Nation, as well we may testified, at our first arriuall at Chesiapiack: but that iniury Captaine Nuport well reuenged at his returne, where some of them intising him to their Ambuscadoes by a daunce, hee perceiuing their intent, with a volly of musket shot, slew one, and shot one or two more, as themselues confesse, the King at our arriuall sent for me to come vnto him: I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would as had the rest of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented, at last he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor some fortie yards from ỳ shore, he signified to me to come a shore, and sent a Canow with foure or fiue of his men, two whereof I desired to come aboard

board & to stay, & I would send two to talke with their King a shore, to this hee agreed: the King wee presented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted, and sent for victualls to entertaine the messengers.

Maister Scriuener and my selfe also, after that, went a shore: the King kindly feasted vs, requesting vs to stay to trade till the next day, which hauing done, we returned to the Fort, this riuer is a musket shot broad, each side being shoald bayes, a narrow channell, but three fadom, his course for eighteene miles, almost directly South, and by West, where beginneth the first inhabitants, for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the West, a great bay and a white chalkie Iland, conuenient for a Fort: his next course South, where within a quarter of a mile, the riuer diuideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the wester bought a high plaine likewise, the Northeast answerable in all respects: in these plaines are planted aboundance of houses and people, they may containe 1000. Acres of most excellent fertill ground, so sweete, so pleasant, so beautifull, and so strong a prospect, for an inuincible strong Citty, with so many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene: This is within one daies iourney of Chawwonocke, the riuer falleth into the Kings riuer, within twelue miles of Cape-hendicke.

At our Fort, the foules we had were so ordinarily stolen by the Indians, as necessity inforced vs to correct their brauing thieuerie: for he that stole to day, durst come againe the next day. One amongst the rest, hauing stolen two swords, I got the Counsels consent to set in the bilboes: the next day with three more, he came with their woodden swords in the midst of our men to steale, their custome is to take any thing they can ceaze off, onely the people of Pamaunke, wee haue not found stealing: but what others can steale, their King receiueth.

I bad them depart, but flourishing their swords, they seemed

seemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands, his pride urged me to turne him from amongst vs, whereat he offred to strike me with his sword, which I prevented, striking him first: the rest offring to revenge the blow, received such an incounter, and fled; the better to affright them, I pursued them with five or six shot, and so chased them out of the Iland: the beginning of this broyle, litle expecting by his carriage, we durst have resisted, having euen till that present, not bene contradicted, especially them of Paspahegh: these Indians within one houre, having by other Salvages, then in the Fort, understood that I threatned to be revenged, came presently of themselues, and fell to working vpon our wears, which were then in hand by other Salvages, who seeing their pride so incountred, were so so submisse, and willing to doe any thing as might be, and with trembling feare, desired to be friends within three daies after: From Nawsamond, which is 30. miles from vs, the King sent vs a Hatchet, which they had stollen from vs at our being there: the messanger as is the custome, also was well rewarded and contented.

The twenty of April, being at worke, in hewing downe Trees, and setting Corne, an alarum caused vs with all speede to take our armes, each expecting a new assault of the Salvages: but understanding it a Boate vnder saile, our doubts were presently satisfied, with the happy sight of Master Nelson, his many perrills of extreame stormes and tempests. His ship well, as his company could testifie his care in sparing our provision, was well: but the providence thereof, as also of our Gones, Hatchets, and other tooles, onely ours excepted, which of all the rest was most necessary, which might inforce vs, to think either a seditious traitor to our action, or a most vnconscionable deceiver of our treasures. This happy arrivall of Master Nelson in the Phenix, having bene then about three monethes missing, after Captaine Nuports arrivall, being to all our ex-

pectations lost: albeit, that now at the last, hauing béene long crossed with tempestuous weather, and contrary winds, his so vnexpected comming, did so rauish vs with exceeding ioy, that now we thought our selues as well fitted, as our harts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needfull prouisions, till a further supply should come vnto vs: whereupon the first thing that was concluded, was, that my selfe, and Maister Scriuener, should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could prouide, to discouer beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements conueniently we might: fiue or seauen daies we spent only in trayning our men to march, fight, and scirmish in the woods, their willing minds to this action, so quickned their vnderstanding in this exercise, as in all iudgements wée were better able to fight with Powhatans whole force: in our order of battle amongst the Trees, (for Thicks there is few) then the Fort was to repulse 400. at the first assault, with some tenne or twenty shot, not knowing what to doe, nor how to vse a Piece: our warrant being sealed, Maister Nelson refused to assiste vs with the voluntary Marriners, and himselfe as he promised, vnlesse we would stand bound to pay the hire for shippe, and Marriners, for the time they staied: and further there was some controuersie, through the diuersitie of Contrary opinions, some alleadging, that how profitable, and to what good purpose soeuer our iourney should portend, yet our commission, commanding no certaine designe, we should be taxed for the most indiscréete men in the world, besides the wrong we should doe to Captaine Nuport, to whom only all discoueries did belong, and to no other: the meanes for guides, beside the vncertaine courses of the riuer, from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie vs in two houres, better then that they first called the Fort, their Townes vpon the riuer, each within one dayes iourney of other, besides our ordinary prouision, might well be supposed to adde reliefe: for truck

and

& dealing only, but in loue & peace, as wt the reſt; if they aſſalted vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage ſo conuey, that we ſhould not ſhare, but admit the worſt, 16. daies prouiſion we had of Cheſe, Oatmeale, and biſket, beſides our randeuous, we could and might haue bid in the ground. With fiue men, Captaine Martin, would haue vndertaken it himſelfe, leauing the reſt to defend the Fort, and plant our Corne: yet no reaſon could be reaſon, to proceede forward, though we were going aboard to ſet ſaile: Theſe diſcontents cauſed ſo many doubts to ſome, and diſcouragement to others, as our iourney ended: yet ſome of vs procured petitions to ſet vs forward, only with hope of our owne confuſions, our next courſe was to turne husbandmen, to fell Trees and ſet Corne. Fiftie of our men, we employed in this ſeruice, the reſt kept the Fort, to doe the command of the preſident, and Captaine Martin, 30. dayes the ſhip lay expecting ỹ triall of certain matters, which for ſome cauſe I keepe priuate: ỹ next exploit was an Indian hauing ſtolen an Axe, was ſo purſued by Maiſter Scriuener, & them next him, as he threw it downe, and flying, drew his bow at any that durſt incounter him: within foure or fiue dayes after, Maiſter Scriuener and I, being a little from the Fort, among the Corne, two Indians, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with Terraſigillata, came circling about mee, as though they would haue clubed me like a hare: I knew their faining loues towards me, not without a deadly hatred, but to preuent the worſt, I calling maiſter Scriuener retired to the Fort: the Indians ſeing me ſuſpect them, with good fearnes, aſked me for ſome of their men, whom they would beate, and went with me into our Fort, finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a ſpie: they offered to beat him, I in perſwading them to forbeare, they offered to beginne with me, being now foure, for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other ſide the Fort: whereupon I cauſed to ſhut the Ports, and apprehend them. The

president and Counsell, being presently acquainted, remembring at the first assault, they came in like manner, and neuer else but against some villanie, concluded to commit them to prison, and expect the euent, eight more we ceezed at that present, an houre after came three or foure other strangers, extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, skinnes, and shooting gloues, their iealousie and feare, bewrayed their bad intent, as also their suspitious departure.

The next day came first an Indian, then another as Embassadors for their men, they desired to speake with me, our discourse was, that what Spades, Shouells, swords, or toles they had stolne, to bring home (if not the next day, they should hang) the next newes was, they had taken two of our men, ranging in the woods, which mischiefe no punishment will preuent but hanging, and these they would should redeeme their owne 16. or 18. thus braning vs to our dores, we desired the president, and Captaine Martin, that afternoone to sally vpon them, that they might but know, what we durst to doe, and at night mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and spoiled, and destroyed, what we could, but they brought our men, and freely deliuered them: the president released one, the rest we brought well guarded, to Morning and Euening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare, then caused them to much sorrow, which till then scoffed, and scorned at what we durst doe, the Counsell concluded, that I should terrifie them with some torture, to know if I could know their intent, the next day I bound one in hold, to the maine Mast, and presenting fire Muskets with match in the cockes, forced him to desire life, to answere my demaunds he could not, but one of his Comouodos was of the counsell of Paspahegh, that could satisfie me: I releasing him out of sight, I affrighted, the other first with thereat, then with Muskets, which seeing he desired me to stay, and hee would confesse to this execution: Maister Scriuener come, his discourse was to

this

this effect, that Paſpehegh, the Chickahamaniar, Youghtanum, Pamaunka, Mattapanient, & Kiskiack. Theſe Nations were altogether a hunting that toke me, Paſpahegh, & Chicahamanya, had entended to ſurpriſe vs at worke, to haue had our tooles: Powhatan, & al his would ſame friends, till Captaine Nuports returne, that he had againe his man, which he called Namontack, where with a great feaſt hee would ſo enamor Captain Nuport & his men, as they ſhould ceaze on him, and the like traps would be laied for the reſt.

This trap for our tooles, we ſuſpected the chiefe occaſion was foure daies before Powhatan had ſent the boy he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maiſter Scriuener, and mée, vnderſtanding I would go vp into his Countries to deſtroy them, and he doubted it the more, in that I ſo oft practiſed my men, whoſe ſhoting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues, and children; we ſent him word, we entended no ſuch thing, but only to goe to Powhatan, to ſéeke ſtones to make Hatchets, except his men ſhot at vs, as Paſpahegh had told vs they would, which if they did ſhoote but one arrowe, we would deſtroy them, and leaſt this miſchiefe might happen, ſent the boy to acquaint him thus much, and requeſt him to ſend vs Weanock, one of his ſubiects for a guide, ỹ boy he returned backe with his Cheſt, & apparell, which then we had giuen him, deſiring another for him, ỹ cauſe was, he was practiſing with the Chikahamanias, as the boy ſuſpected ſome villanie, by their extraordinary reſort, & ſecret conference from whence they would ſend him. The boy we kéepe, now we would ſend him many meſſengers, & preſents, the guide we deſired he ſent vs, & withall requeſted vs to returne him, either the boy, or ſome other, but none he could haue, & that day theſe Indians were apprehended, his ſonne with others ỹ had loaded at our Fort, returned, & being out of the Fort, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him, & to ỹ Chikamanias, not long after Weanock, ỹ had bin with vs for our guide, whom wée kept to haue conducted vs in another iourny, wᵗ a falſe excuſe

returned, and secretly after him, Amocis the Paspaheyan, who alwaies they kept amongst vs for a spie, whom the better to auoide suspition, presently after they came to beate away: these presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of Amocis, the spie, but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of Powhatan; whose true meaning Captaine Martin most confidently pleades.

The confession of Macanoe, which was the counseller of Paspahegh: first I, then Maister Scrivener, vpon their seuerall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that Paspahegh, and Chickahammania did hate vs, and intended some mischiefe, and who they were that toke me, the names of them that stole our toles, and swords, and that Powhatan receiued them, they all agreed: certaine vollies of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to thinke that their fellowes had beene slaine.

Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certaine Salvages, sent his Daughter, a child of tenne yeares old, which not only for feature, countenance, & proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit, and spirit, the only Nonpariel of his Country: this bee sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person, but of a subtill wit, and crafty vnderstanding, he with a long circumstance, told mee, how well Powhatan, loued and respected mee, and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me, a Deare, and bread, besides for a present: desiring me that the Boy might come againe, which he loued exceedingly, his litle Daughter bee had taught this lesson also: not taking notice at all of the Indeans that had beene prisoners three daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers and friends come quietly, and in gon tearmes to entreate their libertie.

Opechaukanough, sent also vnto vs, that for his sake, we

would

would release two that were his friends, and for a token sent me his shooting Stone, and Bracer, which the day our men was taken upon, separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same: now all of them having found their peremptorie conditions, but to increase our malice, which they seeing vs begin to threaten to destroy them, as familiarly as before, without suspition, or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie for their men: In the afternoone they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church, and after prayer, gaue them to Pocahuntas, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindnesse in sending her: after having well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what else they had, and with much content, sent them packing: Pocahuntas, also we requited, with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vsed ỹ Paspaheyans very kindly in so releasing them. The next day we had suspition of some other practise for an Ambuscado, but perfectly wee could not discouer it, two daies after a Paspaheyan, came to shew vs a glittering Minerall stone: and with signes demonstrating it to be in great aboundance, like vnto Rockes, with some dozen more, I was sent to seeke to digge some quantitie, and the Indean to conduct me: but suspecting this some tricke to delude vs, for to get some Copper of vs, or with some ambuscado to betray vs, seeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, led him afore, where abusing vs from place to place, and so seeking either to haue drawne vs with him into the woods, or to haue given vs the slippe: I shewed him Copper, which I promised to haue given him if he had performed his promise, but for his scoffing and abusing vs, I gaue him twentie lashes with a Rope, and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him shoote if he durst, and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the most part well recouered,

recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then necessitie enforced vs vnto, we thought good for the better content of the aduenturers, in some reasonable sort to fraight home Master Nelson with Cedar wood, about which, our men going with willing minds, was in very good time effected, and the ship sent for England; wee now remaining being in good health, all our men wel cõtented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, & as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians, where we doubt not but by Gods gracious assistance, and the aduenturers willing minds, and spedie furtherance to so honorable an action in after times, to see our Nation to enioy a Country, not onely exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for comerce in generall, no doubt pleasing to almightie God, honourable to our gracious Soueraigne, and commodious generally to the whole Kingdome.

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